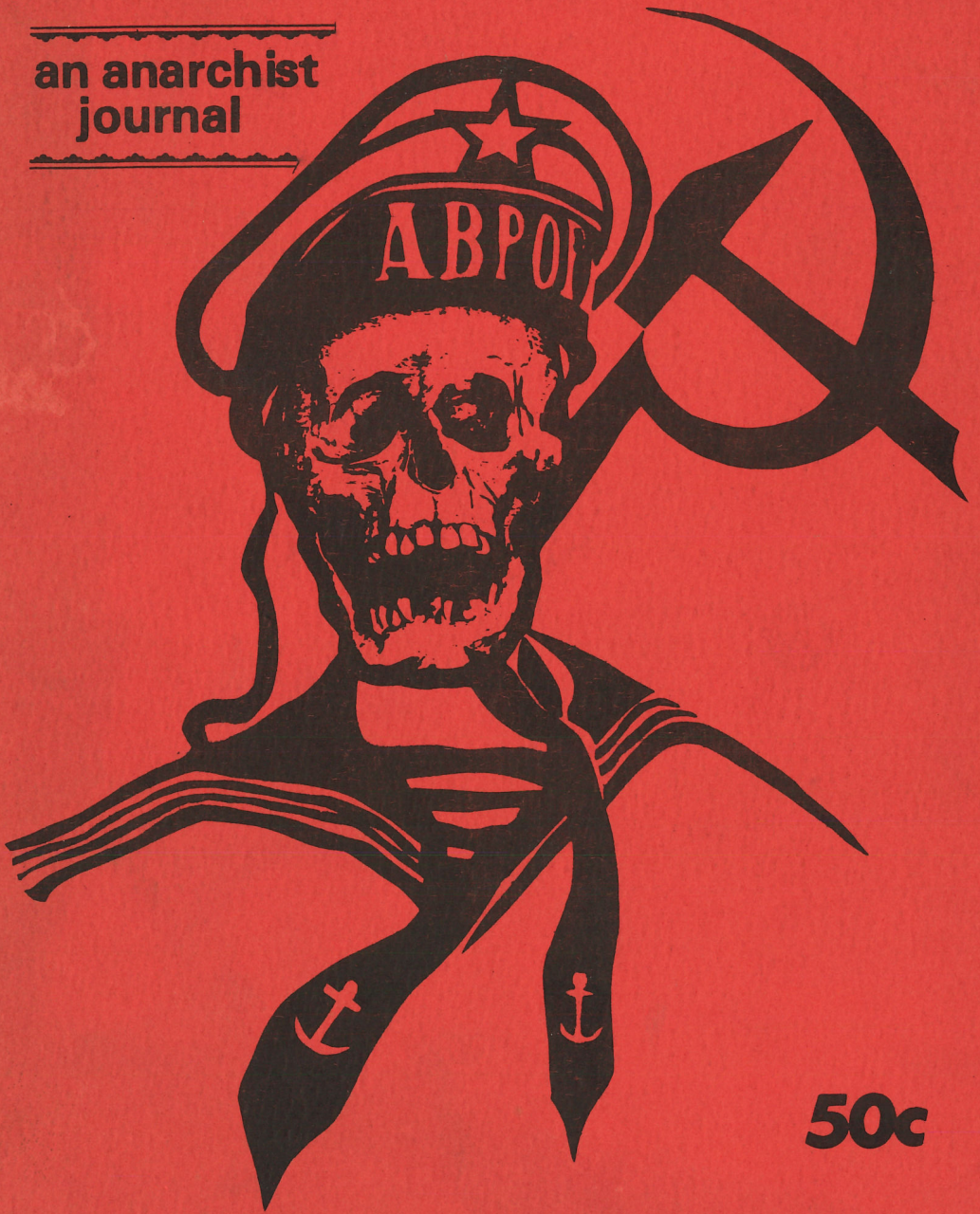
RED AND BLACK 7

an anarchist journal



50c

Anarchism,
Contrary to common misconception, anarchism, does not reject, but is about organisation. Anarchism is simultaneously both a critique of authoritarian froms of organisation which foster manipulation and passivity, and a theory of free organisation. Forms which are organised from below rather than without. The basis of such organisation is the autonomous group formed on the basis of common locaslity, (collective), activity (affinity group) or trade (syndicate)

Zero, Anarca-feminist monthly
Zero Collective 01-555 6287
c/o 182 Upper St. Islington, London N1.

"All that individuals can do is elaborate, clarify, and propagate ideas corresponding to the popular instinct and contribute their incessant efforts to the revolutionary organization of the natural power of the masses;...the rest can and should be done by the masses themselves" Bakunin
in Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver. B.C. Canada.

RED & BLACK

spring 1977

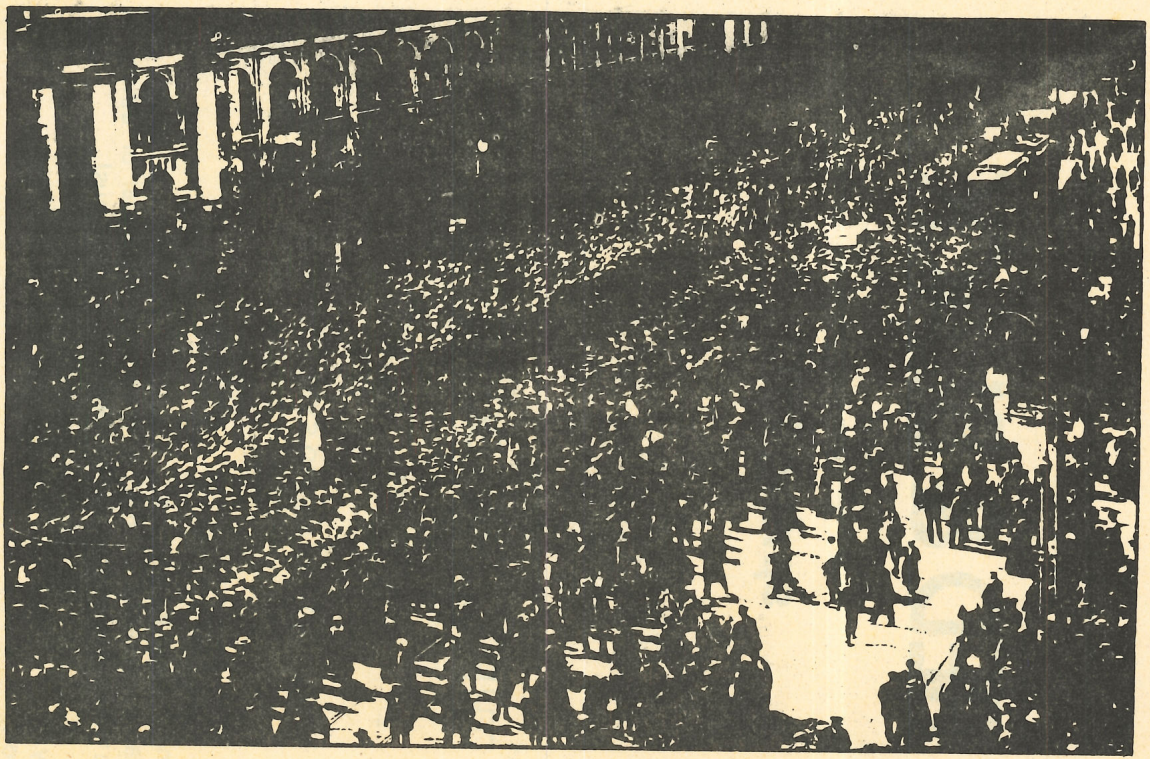
THE JURA BOOKSHOP

417 KING ST., NEWTOWN

(SYDNEY ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS)

Subscription $2 (Aust) for 3 issues.
For a regular appearance of Red & Black your financial or otherwise contribution will be appreciated. Do not hesitate! Be generous!

Published by:
J. Grancharoff,
P.O. Box A425,
Sydney South, N.S.W.,
Australia, 2000.



Cossacks in the Nevski Propekt guardedly watch a demonstration of soldiers and Kronstadt sailors in July, 1917. (The Unknown Revolution, B & R, Detroit).

ANARCHISM IN RUSSIA

The Origins

PAUL AVRICH

Although an organised anarchist movement did not emerge in Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century, the vision of a stateless society without coercion or exploitation was deeply rooted in the Russian past. The earliest anarchistic views emerged among religious dissenters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most notably the Strigol'niki of Novgorod and Pskov, who rejected coercive power, denied the authority of the established church, and called for a return to the practices of the Apostles.

Similar doctrines were developed by sectarian groups from the seventeenth century onwards, exerting a profound influence on the revolutionary anarchists of the modern period. These sectarians — Dukhobors, Molokane, Skoptsy, Khlysty, "priestless" Old Believers, and others — were devout Christian pacifists who repudiated all compulsion, whether secular or religious, and placed their faith in a personal communion with God rather than in militant social action. Like earlier dissenters, they spurned the official church hierarchy and often refused to pay taxes, take oaths, or bear arms. "The children of God," proclaimed the Dukhobors in 1791, "have no need either of tsars or ruling powers or of any human laws whatever."(1). Driven by millenarian expectations, sectarian groups such as the Brothers of Zion believed that a savour would appear and lead them to a Promised Land where "all will be equal and of one rank, no police, no judges, everywhere sanctity and common people."(2).

Russian anarchism was also rooted in the great Cossack and peasant rebellions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These uprisings, led by Bolotnikov, Razin, Bulavin, and Pugachev, were directed against the nobility and bureaucracy and possessed a strongly egalitarian and anti-statist character. While the rebels continued to venerate a "people's tsar," they regarded the state apparatus as an alien and evil tyranny, exploiting taxes, exalting military service, and trampling upon time-honoured freedoms and traditions.

Still another source of anarchistic ideas was the Petrashevsky Circle in St. Petersburg, which transmitted the utopian socialism of Charles Fourier to Russia during the 1840's. It was in part from Fourier that modern anarchists like Bakunin and Kropotkin derived their faith in small voluntary communities as well as their belief that men could live in harmony once the artificial restrainsts imposed by governments had been removed. Similar notions were drawn from the Slavophiles of the mid-neneteenth century, above all Konstantin Aksakov, for whom the centralized bureaucracy state was "evil in principle."(3) Aksakov, moreover, was versed in the writings of Fourier and of such anarchist theorists as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Max Stirner, and his idealized vision of the peasant commune strongly influenced Bakunin, Kropotkin, and their successors.

The anarchists, in addition, learned a good deal from the libertarian socialism of Alexander Herzen, a progenitor of Russian Populism who refused to sacrifice individual freedom to the tyranny of government or of abstract ideologies, whether advanced by parliamentary liberals or authoritarian socialists. All of these

forerunners of anarchism, from the religious sectarians and popular rebels to the Fourierists and Slavophiles as well as Herzen and the Populists, rejected the expanding state and pinned their hopes on the peasant commune as the decentralist and autonomous nucleus of a future libertarian society.

The Founding Fathers

In the lives and writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Tolstoy, all of whom were of aristocratic birth, Russia contributed more than any other country to anarchist theory and to the creation of an international movement. Micheal Bakunin (1814-1876) was probably the most famous anarchist in history. Born into the land gentry and trained as an army officer, he abandoned his noble heritage for the career of a professional revolutionist. In 1840 he left Russia and dedicated his life to a struggle against authority in all its forms. Arrested during the Dresden rising of 1849, he spent a dozen years in prison and Siberian exile, from which he made a dramatic escape in 1861 that made his name a legend in radical groups all over Europe. In **God and the State** and other works Bakunin condemned all forms of tyranny and exploitation, religious as well as secular and economic as well as political. His philosophy of anarchism, deeply rooted in French utopian socialism and Russian populism, also drew inspiration from the peasant uprising of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His vision was of an all-embracing revolt of the masses, in town and country alike, that would sweep away the state and usher in a free society of peasant communes and workers' associations organised "from below." For Bakunin, as for Karl Marx, the ultimate goal of the revolution was a stateless utopia in which men would be free of the bonds of coercion and exploitation. But where Marx envisioned an intervening proletarian dictatorship that would elimate the last vestiges of the capitalist order, Bakunin wished to abolish the state at once through a social rather than a political revolution. Bakunin and Marx engaged in a bitter struggle for mastery of the First International (1864-1876) and for supremacy in the European revolutionary and working-class movements.

Peter Kropotkin (1841-1921) succeeded Bakunin as the foremost leader and theorist of the international anarchist movement. Like his mentor, he was a scion of the landed nobility who served as an army officer before renouncing his heritage for a life spent largely in prison and exile. He too fled from Russia in dramatic circumstances, escaping in 1876 — the year of Bakunin's death — from a prison hospital in St. Petersburg to Western Europe, where he remained until the revolution of 1917 enabled him to return to his homeland. Although Kropotkin embraced the principal tenets of the Bakuninist creed, from the moment he took up the torch of anarchism it burned with a gentler flame. In a series of influential books — the most important were **Words of a Rebel** (1885), **The Conquest of Bread** (1892), **Fields, Factories and Workshops** (1889), **Memoirs of a Revolutionist** (1899), and **Mutual Aid** (1902) — he put forward a system of "communist anarchism" in which men would work voluntarily in autonomous associations of producers and take from the common storehouse whatever they considered necessary for a comfortable life.

An eminent geographer and naturalist, Kropotkin believed no less than Marx that his theories rested on a scientific basis. Rejecting the Darwinian emphasis on

competition and struggle, he held that mutual aid was the "chief factor of progressive evolution," among men as well as animals (4). He considered the rise of the centralized state a departure from the normal pattern of Western civilization. The dominant trends of history, he believed, pointed back to co-operative societies in which men could develop their creative faculties without rulers, priests, or soldiers. He envisioned a decentralised society of free communes in which mutual aid would flourish and men and women, having rid themselves of centralized government and industry, would work from their twenties to their forties for four or five hours a day. The existing division of labor, including the separation of mental and manual work, would give place to a variety of pleasant jobs and to a reintegrated organic life such as prevailed in the Middle Ages.

Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), the famous Russian novelist, perpetuated the pacifist tradition of the dissenting religious sects. During the 1880's his followers began to form anarchistic groups in Tula, Orel, and Samara provinces and also in the city of Moscow, and by the turn of the century Tolstoyan missionaries had spread the gospel of Christian anarchism throughout the black-earth region and founded colonies as far south as the Caucasus Mountains. While condemning the state as an instrument of oppression, the Tolstoyans shunned revolutionary activity as a breeder of hatred and violence. Society, they believed, could be improved only through the brotherly love preached by Christ and his Apostles. The revolutionary anarchists who followed Bakunin and Kropotkin held no brief for Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance, but they admired his criticisms of the state and of institutionalized religion, his revulsion against patriotism and war, and his deep compassion for the peasantry.

The Rise of a Movement

In spite of this rich legacy, no organised anarchist movement arose in Russia before the twentieth century. During the last years of his life, Bakunin won over a number of young Russian emigres who collaborated with him in Switzerland. In 1872 a circle of Bakuninists was organized in Zurich called the Russian Brotherhood, and in 1873 a small group called the Revolutionary Commune of Russian Anarchists sprang up in Geneva, both of which desseminated Bakunin's ideas among the exiles and helped smuggle Bakunin's writings, notably **Statehood and Anarchy** (1873), into the Russian empire. As a result, Bakunin exerted a strong influence within the Populist movement, which became permeated with libertarian attitudes and theories. Bakuninist doctrines were preached both by the students who "went to the people" in 1873/74 and within the clandestine groups of factory workers which began to emerge at the same time in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Odessa.

The assassination of Alexander 11 in 1881, however, was followed by a period of repression during which revolutionary groups of every stripe were stamped out. The famine of 1891/92 stirred up new revolutionary activity both at home and aboard, and in 1892 a group of Russian students in Geneva, led by a young Armenian Kropotkinite named Alexander Atabekian, established a propaganda circle called the Anarchist Library, which printed pamphlets by Bakunin and Kropotkin as well as by leading western anarchists. Towards the end of the 1890's another propaganda circle was organised in Geneva which began smuggling anarchist literature into

Russia in increasing quantity. In 1902 a group of Kropotkin's followers in London issued a Russian translation of his **Conquest of Bread** under the title of **Khleb i Volia** (Bread and Freedom), which immediately entered the armony of anarchist slogans.

With rising revolutionary ferment in Russia after the turn of the century, an extensive anarchist movement was finally established. In 1903 the first anarchist groups appeared in Bialystok and other factory towns along the western borders of the empire. At the same time, a monthly anarchist journal was founded in Geneva and christened **Khleb i Volia** after Kropotkin's famous book. From his London residence Kropotkin himself contributed articles to the paper, while Bakunin's famous slogan, "The urge to destroy is also a creative urge," was chosen for the masthead.

When revolution erupted in 1905, the anarchists hailed it as the spontaneous mass upheaval forecast by Bakunin a generation before; and they played a dramatic part in the events that followed, plunging into agitation, demonstrations, strikes, and occasional robberies ("expropriations", as they were called) and assassinations of police and government officials. As the revolution gathered momentum, the movement spread from the western provinces to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other major cities of the heartland. It embraced a fascinating and sometimes contradictory variety of groups and individuals — communists and syndicalists, pacifists and terrorists, idealists and adventurers — who engaged in a wide range of activities.

In most locations anarchist groups fell into three categories: Anarchist-Communists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, and Individualist Anarchists. The Anarchist-Communists envisioned a free federation of agricultural communes and handicraft co-operatives, disturbing large-scale industry and labor organisations. The most active groups among them were Chernoe Znamia (Black Flag) and Beznachalie (Without Authority), both of which advocated terrorism, and Khleb i Volia (Bread and Freedom), which pursued a more moderate course advocated by Kropotkin. The Anarcho-Syndicalists pinned their hopes on the labor movement and called for workers' control of production, while the Individualist Anarchists rejected both territorial communes and workers' organisations in favour of unorganized individuals, exalting the ego above the claims of collective entitles. The Individualists attracted a small but vocal following among artists, intellectuals, and students, as well as occasional lone-wolf bandits who found expression for their social alienation in violence and crime, with death as the ultimate form of self-affirmation and the ultimate escape from the confinements of organised society.

During the reaction following the 1905 Revolution, the anarchists became the targets of a manhunt by the tsarist police. Hundreds were executed after summary trials, hundreds more were sentenced to long terms in prison or exile, while still others emigrated to Western Europe of America. With the coming of the First World War, the movement, already fragmented, was further divided over whether to support the Allies, following the example of Kropotkin, or remain true to their anti-patriotic and anti-militarist tradition. This issue caused an almost fatal split on the anarchist camp, but with the outbreak of the February Revolution, the movement entered a new phase.

Revolution and Reposition

In the Revolution of 1917 Russia provided the setting for one of the two great episodes of anarchism in action, the other being the Spanish Civil War of 1936/39. After the abortive efforts of 1905, 1917 became the first real occasion in history when anarchists attempted to put their theories into practice on a broad scale. By means of "direct action," they sought to build a new society on libertarian lines and to make their stateless vision a reality. Within weeks after the outbreak of the February Revolution, anarchist federations were created in Petrograd and Moscow with the aim of transforming the twin capitals into egalitarian communes modelled on an idealized image of the Paris Commune of 1871, an event consecrated in anarchist as well as socialist legend. During the summer and fall, the movement spread to other cities and towns, where Anarchist-Communist, Anarcho-Syndicalist, and Individualist Anarchist groups were revived. Here and there, moreover, groups of Tolstoyans preached the doctrines of Christian non-violence — it was said they refused to kill even the lice that they plucked from their beards — and though they had few ties with the revolutionary anarchists, their moral influence was considerable.

While the anarchists did not win a very large following, their idealism and humanitarianism and dislike of authority and coercion held powerful attraction for Russians of different backgrounds, and they exerted an influence during the Revolution and Civil War out of all proportion to their numbers. There were about ten to fifteen thousand active anarchists in Russia at the height of the movement, not counting the Tolstoyans or Makhno's peasant movement in the Ukraine or the many thousands of sympathizers who read such anarchist journals as **Golos Truda** (The Voice of Labor), **Anarkiia** (Anarchy), **Burevestnik** (Stormy Petrel), and **Nabat** (The Alarm) which appeared in the larger cities.

Between February and October 1917, the anarchists and the Bolsheviks were united in their determination to topple the Provisional Government, and anarchists played an active role in the insurrection which brought the Bolsheviks to power. However, with the formation of a one-party government and of a new political police (the Cheka) many anarchists again went into opposition, denouncing the new "commissarocracy" and calling for a "third revolution" to inaugurate a truly free society. When they condemned the Brest-Litovsk Treat as a capitulation to German imperialism, the Cheka responded in April 1918 by raiding anarchist centers in Moscow. For many anarchists, however, the Whites remained the greater evil, and so they continued to support the Bolshevik government. An anarchist sailor led the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918, and more than a few fought in the Red Army or (particularly in the south) formed guerrilla bands to oppose both Reds and Whites in the struggle for freedom.

The most prominent guerrilla leader was Nestor Makhno (1889-1934), whose peasant followers in the Ukraine regarded him as a new Razin or Pugachev sent to realize their dream of land and liberty. Expropriating gentry estates, he divided the land among the poor and organized a number of anarchistic communes based on Kropotkin's principle of mutual aid. Makhno was a resourceful partisan warrior who combined an iron will with peasant cunning and humour. His counter-offensive against Denikin in September 1919 was a major factor in halting the White drive towards Moscow, and the following year he fought against Wrangel's troops in the Crimea. The anarchists, however, soon fell prey to the new dictatorship. Their

bookstores, printing offices, and meeting places were shut down as wave after wave of political arrests swept the country. Makhno was forced to flee to the West. Others were caught up in the Cheka dragnet and condemned to death, prison, or exile. Even the Tolstoyans fell victim to the repressions, some being shot during the Civil War for refusing to serve in the Red Army.

A number of better-known anarchists, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who had been deported to Russia from the United States in 1919, were allowed to emigrate to Western Europe. In February 1921 the movement suffered another blow when Kropotkin, who had returned to Russia in 1917, died of pneumonia. His funeral became a political demonstration in which the black flag of anarchy was paraded through Moscow for the last time. Two weeks later the Kronstadt rebellion broke out, and a new wave of political arrests swept the country, scattering the remaining anarchist organisations.

With the rise of Stalin the surviving anarchists were subjected to new repressions, most of them perishing during the Great Purge. There was only the melancholy consolation that Bakunin and Kropotkin, with their criticisms of centralized power, had prophesied it all. And yet, with their vision of a decentralized society based on mutual aid and volutary co-operation, the anarchists have left a legacy that continues to survive in Russia and the West as an alternative to the bankrupt authoritarian socialism of the Stalin era. Libertarian ideas have cropped up among the leading Russian dissidents of the 1960's and 70's, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who has drawn on Tolstoy and Kropotkin for his criticisms of the tryannical state.

1974

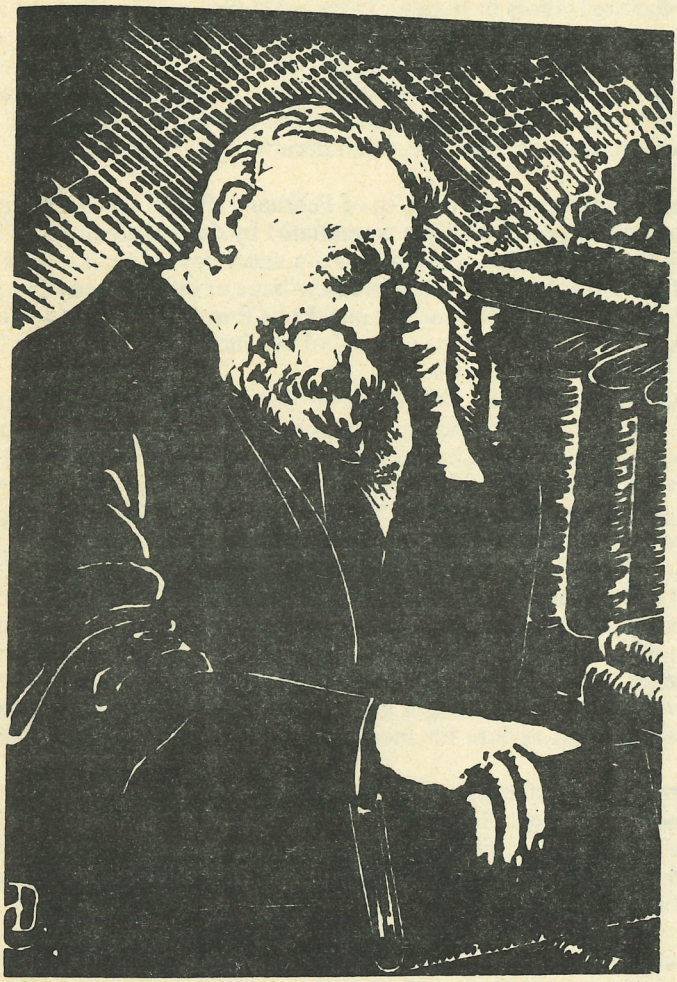
FURTHER READING

Paul Avrich, **The Russian Anarchists** (1967); Leonard Schapiro, **The Origin of the Communist Autocracy** (1956); Voline, **The Unknown Revolution, 1917-1921** (revised edition, 1974); G.P. Maximoff, **The Guillotine at Work** (1940); Peter Arshinov, **History of the Makhnovist Movement, 1918-1921** (1974).

NOTES

1 Geroid T. Robinson, **Rural Russia Under the Old Regime** (New York, 1957), p. 46.
2 F.C. Conybeare, **Russian Dissenters** (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), p. 331.
3 Paul Avrich, **The Russian Anarchists** (Princeton, 1967), p. 36.
4 Peter Kropotkin, **Modern Science and Anarchism** (New York, 1908), p. 44.

Johann Most



JOHAN MOST

The language of history is essentially pragmatic and its values change in constant relation to changes and readjustments of the power structure. A rebel or radical at one stage of history may be used as a patron of persecution at another stage. Those who are traitors or lunatics today could very well be saints or national heroes tomorrow. To them monuments are built, their images depicted or their names engraved in marble. So they become sources from which various nationalistic ideologies, religious mysticisms and irrationalisms of different kinds drew their inspiration. But there are some rebels who do not fit the frame of any past or present societies, whom human glory does not touch because they belong nowhere. One of them is Johan Most.

John (Hans) Most was born on 15th of February 1846 in the Bavarian city of Ausburg. "Hans' early privations were accentuated by the heartlessness of his step mother and by his own physical sufferings. As a small boy he contracted a vicious inflamation of the left jawbone which proved the bane of his life. After five years of experimentation and botching by various quacks he finally underwent a thourough operation. His life was saved but the removal of two inches of his jawbone left him forever with a cruelly disfigured face.

What bearing this physical defect had on the rebellious nature of the young Johan is hard to say. However, today, infested as we are by psychology, there is a tendency to look for a correlation between his rebelliousness and his physical defect.

By nature he was a rebel. He hated discipline. At 12 years of age, when in school, he organised a strike against one of his teachers. Naturally he was expelled.

Leaving school marked the beginning of his Odyssey. He worked for 15 years as a bookbinder to provide himself with a diploma which gave him the opportunity to travel from place to place. In his wandering he visited most of the big cities of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and some parts of North Italy. Life was hard, and especially for him, because he was ugly. He was very often turned away in a humorous manner: "that the customer would object to such a sight, that the wife of the employer was with child and might give birth to a monster if she saw him, that he really belonged in an asylum for incurable, etc.", which embittered him very much.

It was perhaps this bitterness which was later on projected into hate against the bourgeoisie and ruling class. He was convinced that they were responsible for the degradation of mankind, for injustice and poverty. It also could be assumed that his ugliness would give him a feeling of inferiority, which in his case was compensated by the desire for knowledge.

When in Switzerland, he often visited the industrial community of La Chaux-de-Fonds and listened to the discussions among the workers of the First International. It was about 1867, and at that time the International was not yet dominated by Marxist authoritarian trends. It embraced many different socialist and non-socialist groups, which were united in their protest against a social order of injustice, and in their dreams of a just society. John was soon converted to the cause of the International, and as a compensation for joining it he lost his job. His activities increased the membership of his section from 17 to 72 but he could not carry on. He could not find a job so that he forced to give up his work for the International and go to Zurich. He stayed there a year, then left Switzerland and went to Viena in 1868.

Vienna offered vast opportunities for such a dynamic person. The defeat of the Hapsburg monarchy allowed much more freedom and political liberties. The socialist movement grew incredibly quickly. Such a growth attracted many intellectuals whose aim was to promote their own interests rather than socialism. There was a clash between intellectuals and workers. Most took the side of the workers and for his activities was imprisoned for a month.

When in 1869, the Austrian Socialist Party sent a delegation to the convention of German Socialists, the Government decided to suppress all liberties. Here it is not out of place to mention that the Minister of the Interior was Dr. Giskra, an ardent revolutionary in 1848. The Government decision was answered with strikes and demonstrations. Instead of using direct action the workers, as usual, sent a delegation which gave the Government enough time to organize its forces, and when the Government realised that the workers were not prepared to pass the Rubicon, it arrested the delegates and most prominent workers, one of whom was Most (2nd March 1870).

In prison he wrote some poems, one of them "Die Arbeitsmanner" was sung by German and Austrian workers but did not bring him any fame because he sinned: he became an anarchist, and they omitted his name from every songbook.

He did not serve all the years of his sentence, thanks to the coming to power of the Conservative Government. As soon as he was out of prison, he enthusiastically started organising again. Max Nomad said justly: "The young Bookbinder with the twisted face was truly one of the founders of the Socialist movement in most of the territory now called the Ostmark of Germany."

But freedom guaranteed by a government is an illusion which can have some practical repercussion equivalent of opium. Anyhow Most did not enjoy his freedom for long. He was expelled from Austria and went to Germany.

In Germany he joined the faction of Babel and Leibnecht. As a member of that faction he was elected in the election of 1874. He stood for the election because he thought that the Parliament was a forum for revolutionary activities. He soon found his efforts frustrated. Let us hear his own comments: "In high spirits I travelled to Berlin, at the beginning of February, and had hastened after my arrival to the sacred edifice Parliament, where the first sitting had just begun, of which fact I perceived little, because I had not yet been initiated into the mysteries of Parliamentianism . . .

"Very few members were on the floor of the house, and even these did not strike me as solem as I had expected to finds them. One wrote letters, another read a newspaper, here and there stood groups in two's and three's evidently making feeble jokes or passing inane remarks.

" . . . In the Restaurant of the Reichstag, things looked busy. Drink flowed freely and the babel of voices made me think I was on the Stock Exchange."

According to Johan a debate in a country club was carried on much more successfully than in a parliament. He continues: "The sad thing is that the people in all countries still imagine that by these "monkey-tricks' their interests are represented and preserved." "In the Upper House," he said, "there sat quite a lot of rhinoceroses, idiots and owls."

A lot of representatives were priests, whom he calls blackbeetles (R.C.). He identified the representatives as fossils, and concluded by saying: "So this, thought I, is the gang that has been sent to guide the destinies of the People" (Spur, July 1927, Vol VI No. 12).

By that you can safely conclude that one of the dullest periods of his life was his parliamentary career. He was not born to be a respectable representative of the working class, to be a conformist, to listen to parliamentary oratory. He was a man of action, and was awaiting the opportune moment to express his unorthodox thought. On the third anniversary of the Commune of Paris (1874) he delivered his speech in defence of the Commune. This time his parliamentary career ended, and on top of it he got two years jail.

Free again, he was acclaimed by the workers of Berlin and became editor of the largest socialist publication **Berlin Free Press.** This paper unlike the papers published by Lassaleens, Bebel and Leibknecht, was very revolutionary in tone. As well as this, he published many pamphlets and was engaged in many debates, especially with the Christian Socialist Party of Pastor Audolf Stoker, who according to some was the forerunner of Hitler.

Among the Socialists there were many factions, quarrelling and dissensious which weakened their struggle against the growing power of Bismark. And when in 1878 Max Nodel and Dr. Karl Nobiling attempted to take the life of the Emperor, Bismark found an excuse to dissolve the Reichstag and arrested the most prominent socialists, Most was expelled from Berlin. Those who escaped the axe did not like to associate themselves with Most, because he was considered a very dangerous revolutionary. They were for tolerence, Most was for the Revolution. As usual they postponed the realization of the workers' paradise, and as conventional socialists, they thought that the future would be rewarding. That future, which is always a sweet substitute for the unlived present. That future, which is so dear to politicians and priests. Most, who was much more in favour of direct action, and who had the sympathy of the German workers, and the dislike and hate of the Leibknecht Co. Ltd. had to leave Germany and look for asylum in France and Switzerland. But the Republican civilisations, which guarantee freedom of speech and thought, guaranteed him also a few months imprisonment.

He went to England on 4th January 1879. There he founded his paper **Freiheit** which was supported by the German immigrants, and secretly circulated in Germany. The paper followed the party line, but was not well accepted among the German Parliamentary Socialist led by Leibknecht. The policy of Johan's paper forced Leibknecht to make a statement in the Reichstag that the German Socialist Party respected the law irrespective of its nature. Later on he condemned the activities of Most and his paper was forbidden any circulation in Germany, but this did not stop Most from smuggling it in. Johan did everthing possible to evade the authorities, and very successfully. The party considered him as a dangerous element and wanted to get rid of him but as he was very active they could not declare him an agent provocateur, therefore they they declared him insane. For them, Johan was suffering from persecution mania running up and down the streets of London with a red flag and thinking that by editing his paper **Freiheit,** he was Marat of the Revolution.

The slander of individuals who for one or another reason, can not be forced into the party or organisation frame, is one of the best weapons used by the authoritarians to get rid of such undersirable elements. It is very often used in many organisations to curb the rebellious spirit of these who do not like to submit to the party machine. And in a socialist organization, instead of furthering the interests of workers, it furthers the interests of a small minority.

But the slandering is the first phase of a campaign, which in the case of Most finished with his excommunication from the socialist party. And in that campaign, socialists and bourgeois were united. After all, there was no place for him in a highly organised socialist church. "Most" unwillingness and inability to play the part of a smooth politician made him impossible in the party."

Excommunication is a very interesting method. It shows that many revolutionaries are not adult because they cannot bear to be alone, to follow, if necessarily in isolation, their convictions, or to have the courage "to indure the tragedy of our fate with passionless despair, never to wince or bow the head, to comfront the hostile powers with high distain, to fix with eyes of scorn the Gorgon face of Destiny, to stand on the brink of the abyss clenching his fist at the death-pale stars . . . " (Logan Pearsall). And many who supported Most were ready to go to prison even to the gallows or to meet the Imperial German police, but were afraid of the party curse, afraid to be heretics.

Marx, who at that time did not agree with the policy of the German socialist party, did not support Most on the ground that "Workers, who like Herr Most and company, give up work and become professional litterateurs, always cause trouble in matters of theory." And the above statement sounds very reasonable. Marx is right — if there is only one interpreter of a theory there is no risk of deviationists, no sects in the one true religion. Unfortunately the theory is grey, but the leaves of life are green. So as long as there are free spirits anxious for inquiry, there will be differences. It is probable that in the age of the robot when men would be turned into a perfect machine, and thinking declared a crime, there would be no trouble any more, and the spirit of monism would reign forever.

The attitude of the party, of Leibnecht, Babel and Marx was not detrimental to Johan's activities. Rather, he took a more revolutionary position. When the socialists were talking of legalistic actions, of respect for the law, and were abhorring any other activities, Johan was approaching anarchism. And when Sofia Perovskaya and Rissakof killed Alexander 11, Johan wrote an article entitled **At Last** in which he expressed the view that such should be the death of every tyrant. The English government in co-operation with Bismark, used the article as a pretext to arrest and imprison Johan (he was condemned to 18 months hard labour by Lord Coleridge in March, 1881). In England his paper continued to appear till 1882, when it published an article in sympathy with the Irish Invincibles who had just killed Lord Cavendish. Police raided the place, carried away very valuable material, and arrested the editors, who were sentenced to long terms of hard labour.

Freed from prison, Johan went to the U.S.A. and joined the newly formed Socialist Revolutionary Club in New York. Members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party at that time were agreed to arm the workers, repel by force the encroachment upon their rights.

It is worth while mentioning that the radical work at that time was more or less confined to the imigrants. They could publish anything, have a meeting or verbally attack any government, except Russia. One of the reasons why the government did not worry about imigrants was the bitter antagonism between the American workers and the newcomers, which prevented the penetration of radical ideas among the ranks of American Labour.

Such an Atmosphere was propitious ground for Johan's activities. He took part in the more revolutionary wing of the American Labour movement, namely, the

Socialist Revolutionary Party, but even so he was not satisfied, because they were for dictatorship. Finally he turned to anarchism. He left the Party and he and his friends formed their own club. Even so they continued to collaborate with the Social Revolutionaries.

From 1882 to 1887 **Freiheit** became a very popular publication in America and helped spread the idea of the First International among the workers. At the time there was some domestic quarrelling among the anarchists, some were suporters of the federal principle, others of propaganda by deed. All this dissension was abandoned when the American workers entered the struggle for an eight hour day. The anarchists took active part in the eight hour movement.

John Most did not take part in that movement. But when on 11th November, 1886, Parson, Engels and others were executed, Most spoke at a meeting next day in which he urged the workers to fight the government hysteria with all the means at their disposal. But now the government was not indifferent to the imigrants and their political views because these views endangered the native government, native capitalism and were a revolt against injustice and exploitation. Most was sent to Blackwell Island prison.

He stayed there a year. Released, he started with fresh energy the fight against the growing potency of capitalism and its corollary, the State. He wrote many pamphlets, poetry, participated in many conferences and urged the workers to unite, if they wanted to be efficient in the combat against the power of state, capital and privilege. In one of his pamphlets entitled **To the Proletariat** he wrote "As long as I have eyes to see the horrors of this world, as long as my ears can hear the moans of the proletariat: as long as my brain is alert in my head and can reflect all the terrible impressions which are called forth by the injustice of every hour; as long as ny heart has not become insensible to the sufferings of the disinherited, my mouth will not keep silent the crimes which the rich and the powerful commit against the people". Or in some of his article: "Despots are bandits, it is crime to save them. Let people do justice . . . kill the assassin." In his call to the workers he exhibited a great tolerance to those who professed different opinions. But like many who fight for the salvation of the working class, of underdogs, who stirred the underprivileged proletariats and all toilers towards a common goal. namely, emancipation and free society, he made a grave mistake in considering that the working class is united in its purposes, that they have a common interest, or that they desire freedom. Unfortunately for those apostles of the revolution of future egalitarian society, one of whom was Johan Most, they were disappointed to find out that radicalism was flashes of emotion, solidarity — utopia, and that many revolutionaries gave up their ideas at the first opportune moment for comfort, privilege and legality. Some of those who were fulminating against capitalism and injustice were absorbed by the capitalist and state hierarchy, some disappeared in silence, others became anti-labour. Others, unable to find grounds for their activities, ended in trifling quarrels. All the above facts were very depressing for Most's senstive nature and he found a way out in drinking. His drinking provided ammunition for the moralists of the left, who with their socialistic puritanism appealed to the conventional virtues to get rid of an undersirable. Most was not perturbed by the moralists and his paper was printed regularly.

The tragedy of Chicago marked the decline of the anarchist movement in America. **Alarm,** an anarchist paper published by Parsons in, Chicago, survived his

execution by two years only. The German daily **Arbeiter Zeitung** gave up anarchism and became a socialist publication. The threat of deportation hindered any anarchist activities.

According to Max Nomad, Most was disappointed to find that the younger generation of anarchists rebelled against him, because he was not revolutionary enough, and they were anxious for more revolutionary activities — for "propaganda by deed". It was about the time when he was in Tomb's prison — 1891. There were dissensions but not to an extent to hinder his revolutionary activities. We can see it by the letter he sent from the prison to "The working people assembled in Cooper's Institute New York": "The tools of the robber and murder classes that by cunning and force have transformed these United States into their private property and the masses of the people into vassals, heap shame upon shame and crime upon crime. The best representatives of the oppressed they choke to death on the gallows, or take their lives by means of the club, revolver or bayonet. They drag strikers and boycotters to the dungeon. They use their power to transform this so-called "republic" into a huge penitentiary. Their own constitution they trample upon. Their tyranny knows no bounds . . . "

After describing the injustices, etc., he goes on to affirm that: "It is with enthusiasm that I shall later on put myself into your ranks again, to give truth its due with all my power and relentlessly to participate in the warfare against all that enslave us, against the political scoundrels and social exploiters, against Church and State, and for perfect liberty and communism.

"Comrades, forward against the enemy with vehemence! Yes, it is time to check the capitalist conspirators! Act before it is too late!"

About that time he started to show interest in the syndicalist movement. It was he who declared that the purpose of the unions was not only to fight against capitalism for immediate amelioration of conditions, but after the revolution the unions would have the mission of organising society. Ten years later he was to hail the formation of the I.W.W.

In 1897 he moved to Buffalo to become editor of a German daily paper. **Freiheit** became a weakly supplement to the daily. It was not for long. The tone of his articles was very revolutionary and the German union that published the paper wanted him to moderate. He did not accept their conditions and left the paper and Buffalo. He was lucky, because at that time Csolgosz killed President McKinley, and Most, if in Buffalo, could have been executed. Even as it was he who was imprisoned, which was the last year of his prison life.

Freiheit did not suffer much. On the contrary, it became much more literary in content. Unfortunately the times for the anarchists became harder and harder. It was the beginning of anti-anarchist hysteria. The anarchists were the scape-goat for a civilisation of frustrated christians and authoritarians. They were beaten and lynched on the streets, and there was no justice invoked in their case. Some of the Senators in their rage went as far as to suggest that all migrants be examined for a tattoo mark which could lead to a link with anarchists.

In such an atmosphere Most continued to publish his paper. But now it became a question of finance too. To support the paper he had to travel from place to place as a lecturer. Times were hard, and **Freiheit** became a one-man business. Exhausted, suffering privations, persecuted and a sick man, he still continued to do his best to disseminate the idea of anarchism. He died in 1906 while on a lecture trip to Cincinati, Ohio.

His literary output consisted of pamphlets and articles which are very hard to find. Even so it will be of interest to mention some of the social aspects he tackled, and give a few quotation to show his approach.

Priests

"In Europe and America there are several hundred thousand priests and ministers, specially provided to poison the common sense of masses. Numberless missionaries wander from house to house spreading sinless tracts or committing other spiritual mischiefs."

Politicians

"The hawking trade in loyalty and other intoxicants is attended to by the inkslingers of history, by political heelers of the various predominating cliques, rings, combinations and organisations, by parliamentary and windbags with seductive smiles, pledges on their lips and treason in their hearts and hundreds of other politicians of all degrees and shades of villainy."

Professors of Political Economy

"The professors of Political Economy, for instance, play the part of lackeys to the bourgeoisie, extolling the golden calf as the true sun of life, and using falsehood and knavery as 'scientifically' that they make the taming of workingman's hides appear as benefaction to mankind. Some of these charlatans recommend social reform, or in other words, processes based on the marxism of washing without wetting, and to mention their celebrated recipes for economisong and educating. While thus bamboozling the masses, the capitalistic knights of plunder continue to perfect their mechanism of power."

Most is anarcho-communist but he does not spare the masses either, because it is they who provide soldiers, gundarmes, police, etc. He says: "They display great zeal as spies, eavesdroppers, and pokenoses; as claws, teeth and suckers of the state, which institution is evidently nothing more nor less than the political organisation of a horde of swindlers and spoilators, who without the tryannizing machinery could not rob entire countries and hundreds, even thousands of millions."

Religion

"Among all mental diseases with which man has been systematically inoculated the deistic pestilence is the ugliest."

"An old adage says: 'Where a priest has trod, no grass will grow' which means in other words: if a person is once in the clutches of the priests, his intellectual function ceases to operate in a normal way, and instead religious maggots and deistic worms wriggle through his brain. He resembles a sheep that has the staggers."

In conclusion, I may say, it is difficult to assess Most as a publicist, because I have not got enough material, and what I have is a bad translation. But as a man, even if blackened, slandered and ridiculed, he remained an indefatigable, uncompromising rebel.

J.G.

Reprinted from: Libertarian Broadsheet

THE CZECHOSLOVAK COUNTER REVOLUTION OF 1968

The following account does not necessarily include all the facts that may be relevant to the subject and in certain cases may even be imprecise, due to the author's inability to go into a more serious study of materials in a country whose fascist regime could hardly afford to properly furnish its libraries. Although the tone of the article expresses the general viewpoint of the Czechoslovak Socialist Opposition, some of its statements are not accepted by all the factions of this movement and reflect, rather, the position of the so-called "extra-political opposition" [the term dates from the time of the Prague Spring].

To a foreign observer, the Prague Spring was a historical accident and the general opinion is that were the nose of Novotny shorter, things would have probably turned up otherwise. For the average news correspondent kept announcing, "All quiet in Prague" just when the flowers were about to bloom. Some of them, of course, registered the debacle of the Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak writers which only confirmed their assumptions that nothing could be changed behind the Iron Curtain and the Novotny regime could still keep close watch on the situation. And when Dubcek, that bloke whom nobody knew, was elected First Secretary of the Communist Party, everybody including qualified and highly paid observers and the people wondered what new masquerade had been invented by the regime. News of the movements of the gods of Olympus were known to every client in barber shops in all Czechoslovakia and therefore, to everbody else, qualified observers included. The movements of gods, however, do not interest people unless the gods become humans or the people themselves become alpinists who try to dominate the mountain and subdue their gods.

In this case, one of the gods happened to be a General who was accused of running away with the profit from the sale of cereals and the struggles of the gods became the struggle of humans — a social struggle, for cereal is the product of human labor. Had he run away with the secrets of state, nobody would probably have cared for those were only the secrets of Olympus and affected the life of the people only very indirectly. The mountain becoming inhabitable, the gods then decided to move to another one and the process was as usual accompanied by healthy household quarrels, the falling out of grace of some and the claim to stardom of others, but something very unusual had happened: the people, fed up with holy magic and ritual, refused to acclaim the gods' change of habitat and claimed their right to rule over their lands, their mountains and even, Zeus forgive me, over the gods themselves.

The decision of the Czechoslovak people to control the changes among their political elite was indeed very unusual but not at all accidental. If one may assume as true that the crisis in the political elite occurs cyclically (the principle which seems to be valid at least for the so-called socialist countries), the consciousness of the people on the other hand, increases gradually and one may find it similar to Marx's principle of the cyclical crisis of capitalism and the growth in class consciousness. In the case of Czechoslovakia this may well be illustrated by the example of three famous ideological struggles within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after its seizure of power in 1948. The first, that of Slansky-Gottwald, ended in trial and

execution of the former (and many others — see London's book and Costas Gravas' film "L'aveu"), though influenced by the presence and the pressure of the Russian KGB "specialist" (which in our analysis was only a secondary factor, was carried out only on the ideological level: "Slansky betrayed the cause of the working classes, was in the service of the degenerating capitalist system . . ." Such explanation was good enough to satisfy the majority of the population in the beginning of the fifties when the discrepancies between the ideology (theory) and the reality (practice) were minimal and the ignorance of the functioning of the (qualitatively) new political system was still to be overcome. The struggle between Novotny and Barak (this episode is less known outside of the socialist bloc) at the beginning of the sixties was not, on the other hand, carried out only on the ideological level. Of course, Barak was still accused of betraying the cause of the working class but the accusation also included incompetence — a very important fact indicating that the people were now conscious of the discrepancies between the touted slogans and existing gains, whether social or economic. Barak was thus the first and most important in a series of chosen scapegoats. At Barak's trial, the regime was forced into circulating rumours according to which Barak expropriated the people's (state) money in order to buy himself a camera made in the U.S.A. — a fact which again shows that the people were conscious of the high standard of living of top party members. The people had to be calmed with a fairy tale about the good and honest party members and bad ones who betrayed the cause of the people. The last of these power struggles, the case of "the cereal general" Sejna, already completely abandoned the language of ideological struggle and the case brought against him was publicly based on corruption: he was accused of having pocketed a large sum of money from the sale of cereals. The escape of Sejna was not, however, due to the sale of cereals but to the fact that the anti-Novotny liberal opposition of the PCC discovered that he masterminded a planned military putsch to recover the lost power of Novotny's orthodox clique, which does noe mean to say tha Sejna could not have sold cereals or anything else on his way from Czechoslovakia to the Pentagon.

The public announcement of Sejna's black-marketing and not the real cause of his escape showed several things: the corruption, mismanagement and incompetence of top party members had already been taken for granted by public opinion; the ideological struggle of factions had lost its meaning in the context of the Czechoslovak political reality before 1968 and did not find nor look for any echo from the apathetic public. Even the members of the anti-Novotny faction, knowing the real cause of Sejna's escape, did not reveal it to the public. Thus, Czechoslovakia before the Prague Spring was a kind of apolitical society: the struggle of political factions was, in general limited to careerism and the political participation of the people was limited to non-participation.

But with the years, through the process marked by the three cited cases, the non-participation of the people became an important instrument of political action: the people distanced themselves from the political reality represented by the official representatives of the regime and their game. Or, in the words of prominent dissident philosopher, I. Svital, having learnt the rules of the game and being unable to cope with them or to formulate new ones, the public withdrew, plying its own game. But historically, this non-participation takes place only temporarily, marking a period in which a new socio-political consciousness is born and new means and aims of struggle are formulated. Thus, the Prague Spring can hardly be considered an accident of history but rather the effect of a long, historical process in which the

Congess of Czechoslovak Writers or the Strahov demonstration of Prague students — the events commonly evoked as the immediate causes of the Prague Spring — played only the role of detonators.

The awakening of a new consciousness that led to the Prague Spring was marked not only by new attitudes vis-avis the CCP but also by a reconsideration of the accepted image of socialist society. For Czechoslovakia before 1968 represented the near-perfect example of a socialist society in the ideological context of marxism-Leninism, being, together with the Germen Democratic Republic, the most industrialized country with the highest standard of living. Thus, being the "show-window" of socialism economically speaking, Czechoslovakia for a long time remained an example of "socialist consciousness" in contrast to the other countries of the Eastern European bloc.

Due to her "loyalty to the cause", Czechoslovakia was for quite some time judged to be the most stalinist among the socialist countries, a statement which is only half-true, for if one takes as the premises of Stalinism the rule of one or the cult of personality, Czechoslovakia was surely the most Stalinist of them all: Russia after 1956 had her Kruschev, Poland her Gomulka, Hungary her Kadar. But if I am not mistaken, the rule of one is technically called autocracy and does not suffice to define Stalinism and to distinguish it from the rule of Louis XVI, for example. But if, on the other hand, Stalinism means a certain type of political system with a given structure and hierarchy, Czechoslovakia was in all probability the least Stalinist country among all the socialist countries even if she did not change her leader after Kruschev's speech in 1956. For let us be clear: Stalinism is not a creation of Joseph Djugashvili as the members of Communist and its affiliated parties around the world try to claim, otherwise, why would they criticize the American system for its imperialist adventures in Vietnam and elsewhere? Sticking to this logic, they would have to say that it was Eisenhower who was responsible for the war and not the American socio-economic system. But Eisenhower died and the war went on, Kenedy was shot and the war went on, Johnson returned to his ranch and the war went on. Nor may the existence of Stalinism be attributed to the presence of a "cancerous small stratum which exploits the gains of the revolution" as is usually claimed by the various Trotskyist groups. For who would ever try to claim that Napolean while exploiting the gains of the revolution still represented the same revolution? He was of course the product of the French Revolution and he would not have been what he was without the revolution, but what a gap one can see between him and Robespierre of Saint-Just! Be that as it may, Stalinism was and in its modern variation still is a political system that found itself to be extremely suitable for Russia and her historical conditions at the time of the October revolution.

Backed by a victorious ideology, Stalinism as a system became the best export article of post-revolutionary Russia, advertised by the institution of the Comintern and the enthusiasm of working classes around the world for the "victory of the proletariat". (But in this context, one could even say that the international revolutionary movement was and is as much responsible for the reign of Stalinism as are the historical conditions of Russia, and this is due to its lack of criticism vis-a-vis the USSR, and its blind obedience to the CPSU.) Thus, Stalinism influenced to a certain extent every existing communist party. The level of influence and thus of obedience, however, varied according to the particular conditions in which each communist party found itself. The parties backed with the strong support of the

masses, a legal status and a tradition of class struggle resisted in general to absolute Stalinization and were able to somehow safeguard their limited independence (e.g. the Italian and French Communist parties) while those with a limited support from the masses and found to be with an illegal or semi-legal status became more and more attached to the principles of Stalinism (e.g. the PC of the U.S.A., the PC of Great Britian). (This generalization is nevertheless highly qualified by the fact that several communist parties like those of Spain, Greece and Israel, which theoretically should be attached to the principles of Stalinism because of their illegal or semi-illegal status into two factions as a result of their experience with the foreign policy of the CPSU.)

In the light of this, it is certain that the influence of Stalinism in the countries of the Eastern European bloc was much stronger than elsewhere since the USSR could there exercise even the extra-ideological means of pressure. In the case of Czechoslovakia which was the only country to accept socialism almost voluntarily (cf. the Prague pseudo-revolution of 1948), the pressure was consequently very tough. Czechoslovakia was the only country of Central and Eastern Europe with a strong and popular communist party already before the Second World War (one could also mention the Hungarian Republic of Councils (Soviet) in 1919 but this revolutionary tradition in Hungary was unfortunately interrupted by the fascist reaction in the same year and that made of Hungary an ally of Hitler's Germany during the war). Aside from this continuous tradition of class struggle and due to the existing economic conditions (cf. the strong industrialization), Czechoslovakia was the only country of Central Europe that did not turn fascist following the economic crisis of 1929, and was the only country where the arrival of the Russian army in 1944-45 was considered a liberation and not an occupation.

The fact of becoming socialist in 1948 was, in the case of Czechoslovakia, considered to be an offer of partnership with the country of the first socialist revolution, the country that liberated the land from Nazi occupation, the country that carried on the same struggle for the liberation of mankind. Having her own authority and not being set up by the USSR as in the other communist countries of Eastern Europe, the CPC remained more flexible and resistant to the pressures from the USSR. The compromises that were made and which in the long run corrupted the party and destroyed its image in the eyes of the public were, however, carried on in such a way that a certain independence could be maintained. Czechoslovakia remained the only country without the Russian army on its territory. It has been said that the Russian proposal made in the beginning of the sixties to station her troops in Czechoslovakia was strongly opposed by Novotny who even threatened Russia with armed opposition. It seems that Czechoslovak communist leadership, conscious of the moods of the people and even maintaining its idealism, carried out certain Stalinist measures against its will and then tried to redeem itself as soon as it could. How else is it possible that Czechoslovakia remained the freest country of the socialist bloc in the middle of the sixties with the same leadership as before 1956?

Taking all these into consideration, one could say that the Prague Spring was the attempt of a large majority of the population to overcome the absurd limits of an imported socialism whose mold was defined by the USSR. The struggle was carried out even as members of the communist party tried to reform it from within. But the struggle had to necessarily be associated with criticism of the USSR since in the process, the contract of partnership offered twenty years before had revealed itself to be a relationship of dependence. (The relationship between the CPC and the CPSU

which, on the Czechoslovak side was taken as partnership, is extremely important in understanding the real meaning of the Prague Spring. It seems that the first few years after 1948 were considered by the CPC as the years of apprenticeship with the party therefore lending itself more readily to compromises. But when in 1959, Czechoslovakia officially became the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, it was a symbolical warning addressed to the CPSU that socialism in Czechoslovakia had now come into its own and claimed the right of equal treatment in the domain of economy, politics and ideology).

The failure of the Prague Spring is usually associated with the Russian policy of hegemony and other strategical considerations. Objectively, it would be difficult to explain the Russian occupation and the consequent "noramalization" otherwise. But if one were to analyze the Prague Spring in terms of its message, if one were to consider it as a step into the future of a new, qualitatively different international revolutionary movement, he would have to say that the failure of the Prague Spring lay in its own contradictions. Being a society whose economic needs had been satisfied and who had accomplished the premises of "economic" socialism as laid down by Marx and his followers, Czechoslovakia attempted to overcome the limits of such a socialism, defying those who expropiated socialism, revolution and freedom from the rest of the world only because they happened to be first. Thus, the movement which reached its climax in the Prague Spring, while conscious of the necessity of the extension of socialist freedom beyond that freedom defined only economically, and claiming, therefore, the political revolution of socialist society, was still unable to choose its own appropriate means of action. Some tried to reform and redeem the communist party; some, though very few, tried to revive the socialist party, some tried to look into the model of Western democracies to find the basis for a new political structure of socialist Czechoslovakia, but only a part of that movement claimed that socialist society no longer needed the Communist party and that a new political structure must be found for socialist society.

The most important result of the Prague Spring had been the creation of the councils of workers and employees for the defense of intellectual freedom and creation and the manifestos of the various unions of writers, composers, journalists and actors defending the worker's right to determine and control the management of their factories. The Prague Spring was thus able to fuse two very often contradictory currents: intellectuals habitually claim for the freedom of thought and creation and sometimes even intellectualize about the worker's right to manage their factories, but it was indeed rare to see the workers fighting for the rights of intellectuals as it then occurred. Realizing the need for unlimited social and political expressiveness, all professional categories of socialist Czechoslovakia consciously refused to be either avant-grade or "arriere-grade", thus unconsciously undermining the very raison d'etre of the Communist party.

The Prague Spring was a revolution which largely contributed to the destruction of symbols that represented the previous revolution but in itself was unable to create new symbols to replace those destroyed nor to offer new alternatives. It was probably the last revolution which still had ideological connections with the tradition of the October revolution though it was this very same tradition it sought to destroy. Its failure finally confirmed the long suspected degeneration of revolutionary tradition in the official Soviet ideology but this time, hopefully, it brought new arguments not only to bourgeois ideologists but also to the

new revolutionary ideology. It also proved that the revolution of today or tomorrow must be carried out not within but outside of the international status quo and that one of the principal aims of this revolution must be the destruction or at least the principal modification of this status quo. Revolutionaries of today should not seek alliances with any state power but only with the same or similar aims. The movement of the Prague Spring realized the danger of an alliance with any state power only in order to outbalance the influence of the USSR because it would have meant in practice changing its revolutionary ideology into a counter-revolutionary dogma. It failed, on the other hand, to establish an alliance with the revolutionary and progressive forces abroad. Which is to say that at present, the concept of an international revolutionary movement politically independent of and not affiliated to any existing super-power is absent. If today the revolutionaries of the world were to realize that the concept and even the word 'revolution' has been expropriated from them, they will soon come to realize that even the concept and the word 'internationalism' has likewise been expropriated. And it is, I believe, in this sense that the Prague Spring started the search for the new meaning and realization of the revolution and internationalism which are bound to come.

Mirek

ANARCHISM, REGIONALISM AND THE FOURTH WORLD

by Kenneth Maddock

A recent article by Rene Furth in **Interrogations**, an anarchist journal published in Paris in four languages, tries to formulate a position from which to assess regional and minority-culture movements. Furth writes with his mind on the May events of 1968 in France, but this bias is accidental and the issues he raises can easily be reformulated to bring out the anarchist significance of certain striking currents in world events. There is, of course, no question of following these currents slavishly in the manner of left ideologues hurrying along behind a workers' or youth vanguard. It is important to develop an anarchist critique to supplement the critique anarchists already have of class-based movements. What I wish to do in this article is to contribute to the drawing up of such a position. This will require a consideration of what Furth says. It will then be possible to bring the analysis closer to home by raising the significance of what is going on amongst Aborigines in Australia. This will lead into a criticism of recent land-rights legislation by the Commonwealth Government.

Furth's article is written in French, but is accompanied by an English summary worth quoting in full to show his argument:

"The French State's policy of peremptory centralisation is meeting with increasing resistance in the 'region' (one does no longer say 'provinces') in which linguistic minorities remain: Occitania, Corsica, Catalonia, Brittany, the Basque country, Flanders and Alsace. The demands of these regions have rested at first on cultural arguments: they were a reaction against a policy of systematic assimilation that condemned to decay languages that have produced great works and are still daily used by important segments of population in those areas as a vehicle for communication.

"After 1950 and particularly under the influence of the decolonization movement, the economic demand has come to strengthen the linguistic and cultural struggle. The protest against the under-development of those so-called peripheric regions has definitely politicized the movement: its left wing has borrowed its arguments from the revolutionary nationalism of the countries in the Third World. May 1968 and its long range effects have brought new dynamism to these regional struggles which now oppose the prevailing culture, criticize everyday life, defend natural space against polluting industries and the army, question the political machinery, etc. There have been increasing references to socialistic self-management.

"At the same time, the contradictions of regionalism have been intensifying. Resistance to French nationalism brings forth micro-nationalisms that rely in turn on a manipulatory re-writing of history and on calls for a 'state' machinery; the struggle against 'Parisian imperialism' appeals to a 'national unity' transcending class struggle, etc.

"Here again, we rejoin the debate on the process of recuperation of May 68. The article suggests the following hypothesis (which does not pretend to overcome

all the contradictions): regionalism can keep up the logic of cultural revolution provided it asserts its internationalism — in the sense of antinationalism" (**Interrogations**, December 1975, pp.23-24).

The minority cultures of regionalism to which Furth refers are typically a combination of a language or dialect with a regionally-based population having some distinctive customs of its own and a consciousness of its history. A subversive quality is created by resentment of "French" domination. They accordingly stand in some sort of opposition to the "French" state and to the economy and high culture it buttresses. To be opposed to a state is not, of course, the same as being opposed to the state and Furth is accordingly anxious not to identify anarchism with regionalism but rather to profound an anarchist regionalism. Unluckily he carries over into his attempt some ideas as questionable as any of those that he finds objectionable in regionalism.

For example, he fears lest regionalism with its emphasis, say, on "we Bretons" distract attention from class consciousness, but the assumption that class identity is more fundamental than ethnic or other forms of identity and should therefore take priority over them is a dubious inheritance from the marxist dicotomy of base and superstructure. It has made marxists quite hopeless in their analysis of "ideologies" and there is no point in anarchists handicapping themselves by accepting it. In any case, if the base **is** fundamental, why trouble to say that it **ought** to be fundamental?

Then, again, Furth seems, to a foreigner like myself, too preoccupied with upholding the French Revolution (of 1789!) against the resistance it met with the provinces, but apparently the French Revolution continues to be a dividing line among Frenchmen and people there are still for or against it. It is as though Furth wants to maintain the principles of 1789 while at the same time getting the regions to give a new lease of life to the principles of 1968.

A defeat that is even more to our present point is his appeal to the Third World, in which he follows some of the regionalist advocates themselves. Now it is not at all obvious that the countries that make up the Third World offer the best, or even a good, model for movements of the sort that have caught Furth's attention. One characteristic of the Third World is precisely state power and another is the subordination of regions and minority cultures to the centre. In other words, because Third World countries resemble France they cannot realistically be a source of inspiration for regionalisms within France.

A more helpful model is that of the Fourth World formulated by some Canadian Indians to refer to ethnic groupings such as themselves or the Maori people in New Zealand who are culturally persistent, are often in opposition to central institutions and are unlikely ever to form a nation-state (and probably do not aim at forming one). Fourth World peoples get little or no sympathy from Third World countries with their statist obsessions and it would be a waste of time to look to those countries to support, for example, Eskimo land rights or Indian resistance to assimilation. But, or so the Canadian Indian argument goes, there is much to be gained from cooperation and exchange of views among Fourth World peoples themselves. One might hope to see Maoris, Lapps, Eskimos and Australian Aborigines learning from one another's experience, offering "moral support" and other forms of aid to one another and drawing up programmes for their common advancement based squarely on a recognition of their uniqueness in the world and the dissimilarity of their position from that of class-based movements or movements

working to the end of setting up yet another state. I should have thought that the regionalisms of France fit better into a Fourth World than into a Third World or a socialist perspective.

These remarks, which are not meant to be definitive, may serve as a background against which one of Australia's most interesting "regional" or "ethnic" movements can be viewed. I refer to the struggles of Aborigines to keep their traditional societies alive. Some worthwhile gains have been registered, but it is instructive to see how concessions made to Aboriginal feelings perpetuate the old structures and techniques of control and cultural repression.

The melancholy history of Aborigines since British settlement began is probably well-known, at least in its broad outlines, and needs no recapitulation here. What is important is to draw attention to Aboriginal responses. Armed resistance continued as late as the 1930's when Japanese were attacked in Arnhem Land, and had earlier slowed down the rate of settlement in many parts of the country and even forced the temporary abandonment of areas settlers has taken up (cattle stations along the Roper River in the Northern Territory are an example). Hostility to the settler population and its legal, political and religious mechanisms of control was expressed more peaceably in a variety of mystical movements which recast traditional mythologies in an attempt to neutralize the devastation the Aborigines had suffered by putting it in a framework of ideas within which it could be understood and its agents dealt with. Developments of a more down to earth kind included strikes, rights, demands and other forms of agitation. Mystical and mundane movements have kept cropping up in the northern Australia from the 1940s on and had their forerunners earlier. During the 1960s a number of concessions were granted to Aborigines, especially in the Northern Territory, but these, although bringing their position more into line with that of other Australians (award wages, drinking rights, voting rights, increased welfare spending), have not reconciled them to assimilation. Whatever the official policy may be, assimilation is a project facing Aborigines wherever they are unable to distance themselves sufficiently from the whites who surround and outnumber them. That is why land has become such a key issue. An Aboriginal community on its own land has a basis on which to support itself economically, even if only at a subsistence level, and has a space within which it can enjoy cultural privacy. Should sufficiently extensive areas of land be withheld from Aborigines, their struggles for cultural persistence would be fought against very high odds.

That is why the talk of land rights during the 1970s, culminating only last year in the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, has been so interesting. Was it really the case that the major political parties were intent on supplying Aborigines with the land they need and want? It may be recalled that the present Act arose out of a report submitted in 1974 by a commission established in 1973. Thus the Liberal-Country coalition has continued with what Labour began as may be seen by comparing the commission's report, which includes a draft bill, with the Act. There is accordingly broad agreement between government and opposition on Aboriginal land rights and the opinion of those who thought that the defeat of Labor meant the last of land for Aborigines can now be seen to be wholly unfounded. Their opinion probably had more to do with their pro-Labor prejudices than with any analysis they had made of the position and prospects of Aborigines.

The provisions of the Act are too numerous and detailed to be looked into closely here, but the important points can be brought out quite briefly. The existing reserves in the Northern Territory are to be transferred almost in their entirety to Land Trusts. The Land Trusts, of which there will be one or more for each of the twenty reserve areas affected, will consist wholly of Aborigines living in the area controlled by the Trust and will hold the land in fee simple. The total area of land affected is about 95,000 square miles. In addition, there is provision for the future acquisition of land outside the reserves.

This looks a promising beginning, but one begins to suffer from doubts about its significance when one reads in the Act that the Land Trusts are to operate under the direction of Land Councils. The powers these latter have vis-a-vis the former are such that the Land Trust are nothing more than rubber stamps. The Land Councils must number at least two, but need not be more numerous, and at present there is one for the northern areas of the Northern Territory and one for the southern areas. The Land Councils, too, must be wholly Aboriginal in membership, but it is evident from the tasks they must carry out that they will have to employ staff with legal, accounting and administrative experience who, in the nature of the case, will mostly or all be whites, probably from the public service.

It is possible for Aboriginal land (that is, land held or to be held in fee simple by Land Trusts) to be alienated for mining, roading and other other purposes. Control over this rests with the Land Councils, not with the land trusts. The land Councils are required to consult with the "traditional Aboriginal owners" of the area under consideration for alienation and with Aboriginal communities or groups likely to be affected, but only the former have a right of veto. In fact, the powers thereby enjoyed by "traditional Aboriginal owners" are likely to be of much importance in determining the fate of Aboriginal land, because the Act defines this class of persons in such a way that there will probably be none of them at all for most areas.

It may finally be mentioned that a fine of $1000 will be imposed on those who enter Aboriginal land. Nearly all inhabitants of the Northern Territory, including most Aborigines, will find themselves outside the classes of person stipulated in the Act as allowed to enter without penalty! The Act provides that the penalty will not fall on persons who are on Aboriginal land in accordance with a law of the Northern Territory (meaning its Legislative Council); this can only mean that a permit system will continue to operate as in the old days when Aborigines had no civil rights and were paid far below award rates.

The upshot of it all is that Aboriginal land will not be locally controlled by those who live on it but remotely controlled from Darwin or Alice Springs, the seats of the northern and southern Land Councils respectively, that it will be subject to alienation without local Aborigines having much or any say in the matter, and that it will be hedged about with permits and fines.

It is now clear what this calls to mind. It evokes the structure of the old Welfare Branch which, in the 1950s and 1960s, was running Aboriginal affairs from Darwin and Alice Aprings and allowing people to set foot on the reserves only if they had a permit issued by the Welfare Branch (this controlled entry applied also to the Aborigines for whose benefit the reserves were supposed to exist, though in practice they did not have to apply for permits). All that is

needed to complete an uncanny sensation of **deja vu** is for the staff of the Department of Social Welfare and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs to resurface as the staff of the Land Councils.

This analysis of the land rights legislation suggests that cultural autonomy on their own land has yet to be won by Aborigines. It is therefore heartening to see that Northern Territory Aborigines have already seen through the Act and grasped that it really gives them very little. Their characteristic demand is for local Land Councils: that is, they reject the pyramidal structure created by the authorities with all power at the top and seek to have power deposited at the bottom among the people actually living on the land supposed to be Aboriginal land. This programme is fully in line with the agitation and action that made the 1960s and early 1970s such an envigorating period for Aboriginal advancement in the Northern Territory. One can be optimistic that Aborigines will continue to press in their own ways to make their land rights real, but one does not have to be pessimistic by nature to be convinced that the path ahead will be as difficult for them as for the regionalisms and minority cultures in France.

ANARCHISM: COMMUNIST OR INDIVIDUALIST? — BOTH

I will consider the theories of Anarchism only; and here I have been struck for a long time by the contrast between the largeness of the aims of Anarchism — the greatest possible realization of freedom and well-being for all — and the narrowness, so to speak, of the economic program of Anarchism, be it Individualist or Communist. I am inclined to think that the feeling of inadequacy of this economic basic — exclusive Communism or exclusive Individualism, according to the school — hinders people from acquiring practical confidence in Anarchism, the general aims of which appeal as a beautiful ideal to many. I feel myself that neither Communism nor Individualism, if it became the sole economic form, would realize freedom, which always demands a choice of ways, a plurality of possibilities. We all see the survivals of earlier Communism, the manifold workings of present-day solidarity, from which new forms of Communism may develop — all this in the teeth of the cut-throat capitalist "Individualism" which has predominated. But this miserable bourgeois "Individualism," if it has created a desire for solidarity, leading to Communism, has created also a desire for genuine, free, unselfish Individualism, where freedom of action would no longer be misused to crush the weaker and from monopolies, as today.

Neither Communism nor Individualism will ever disappear; and if by some mass action the foundations of some rough form of Communism were laid, Individualism would grow stronger than ever in opposition to this. Whenever a uniform system prevails, Anarchists, if they have their ideas at heart, will go ahead of it and never permit themselves to be fossilised upholders of a given system, be it that of purest Communism. It must be frankly understood among Anarchists that

both Communism and Individualism are equally important, equally permanent; and that the exclusive predominance of either would be a great misfortune to mankind. From isolation we take refuge in solidarity; from much society we seek relief in isolation: both solidarity and isolation are, each at the right moment, freedom and help to us. All human life vibrates between these two poles in endless varieties of oscillations.

Why, then, was Anarchism cut up into the hostile camps of Communists and Individualists? I believe the ordinary factor of human shortcomings, from which nobody is exempt, accounts for this. It is quite natural that Communism should appeal more to some, Individualism to others. So each section would work out their economic hypothesis with full ardor and conviction, and by-and-by, strengthened in their belief by opposition, consider it the only solution, and remain fathful to it in face of all. Hence the Individualist theories since Warren and Proudhon, the Collectivist and Communist since Bakunin and Kropotkin, acquired a degree of settledness, certitude, apparent permanency, which they never ought to have assumed, for stagnation is the death of progress. Hardly any effort has been made in favour of dropping the differences of schools.

Neither of them çam vanquish the other. Where ever Communists are, Individualists will originate from their very midst; while no Individualist wave can overthrow the Communist strongholds. While here aversion or emnity exists between people who are so near each other, we see Communist Anarchism, almost effacing itself before Syndicalism, no longer scorning compromise by accepting more or less the Syndicalist solution as an inevitable stepping-stone. On the other hand, we see Individualists almost relapse into bourgeois fallacies — al this at a time when misdeeds of authority, the growth of state encroachments, present a better occasion and a wider field than ever for real and outspoken Anarchist propaganda.

Personally, I see much good in Communism, but the idea of seeing it generalized makes me protest. I should not like to pledge my own future beforehand, much less that of anybody else. The question remains entirely open to me; experience will show which of the extreme and of many intermediate possibilities will be the best on each occasion, at each time. Anarchism is too dear to me that I should care to see it tied to an economic hypothesis, however plausible it may look today. Unique solutions will never do, and while everybody is free to believe in and to propagate his own cherished ideas, he ought not to feel it right to spread them except in the form of the merest hypothesis — we can readily see that the literature of Communist and Individualist Anarchists has been far from keeping within these limits.

In the above I have used the terms "Communist" and "Individualist" in a general way, wishing to show the useless and disastrous character of sectarian exclusiveness Anarchists. All I want is to see all those who revolt against authority work on lines of general solidarity instead of being divided into little chapels because each one is convinced he possesses the correct economic solution of the social problem. To fight authority in the capitalist system and in the coming system of State Socialism an immense wave of real Anarchist feeling is wanted before ever the question of economic remedies comes in.

I found an early French Anarchist pamphlet, from which I translate the following:

"Thus, those who feel so inclined will unite for common life, duties and work, while those to whom the slightest act of submission would give umbarge will remain individually independent. The real principal (of Anarchism) is far from demanding integral Communism. But it is evident that for the benefit of certain kinds of work many producers will unite, enjoying the advantages of co-operation. But I say once more, Communism will never be a fundamental (meaning unique and obligatory) principal, on account of the diversity of our intellectual faculties, of needs, and of our will."

This quotation (the words in brackets are mine) is taken from p. 72 of what may be one of the scarcest Anarchist publications, "Philosophie de l'Insoumission ou Pardon a' Cain," par Felix P. (New York, 1854, iv., 74 pp. 12 mo) — that is "Philosophy of Non-submission," the author's term for Anarchy. I do not know who Felix P.... was; apparently one of the few French Socialists, like Dejacque, Bellegarrique, Coeurderoy, and Claude Pelletier, whom the lessons of 1848 and other experiences caused to make a bold step forward and arrive at Anarchism by various ways and indepentent of Proudhon. In the passage quoted he put things into a nutshell, leaving an even balance between the claims of Communism and Individualism. The personal predilections of everybody would remain unchanged and unhurt, but exclusivism would be banished, the two vital principals of life allied instead of looking askance at each other.

Authority and ordinary selfishness are far too powerful and common enemies to all of us that we can afford to waste energy on internal struggles which, by establishing dogmatism, would sap the very roots of Anarchism.

Max Nettlau
MOTHER EARTH, July, 1914

SEXUAL LIBERATION

Pornographic books, reviews and films are read or seen by an increasing number of people and advertising magazines and "handbooks" dealing with the technique of physical love are increasingly erotic, so that our time appears to be one of sexual liberation. Unfortunately this is not so. In reality, it is only an illusion of liberation.

Certainly, this new approach to sexuality seems more open and liberated than the puritanical attitudes of earlier times. However it still has as its basis a dehumanized approach to sexuality, without love or true freedom between partners. People are emotionally impoverished and inhibited by a lack of joy, creativity and communication in this capitalistic, technocratic society.

Mission from most professional or sexual relationships is an effective spontaneous exchange between equal, autonomous people. This type of relationship is suppressed in the media and pornographic films, which portray relationships between people only as objects, sado-masochistic relationships in which the partners are preoccupied with the satisfaction of their personal egotistical desires.

They find some pleasure, but this is diluted with feelings of guilt caused by breaking moral and social taboos.

In reality the media specialising in eroticism and pornography has as its principle role, not the liberation of people, but their repression, by helping them to bear up under the multitude of social alienations and to accept their sexual repression as natural or "normal".

Sexual relationships lacking in effective, free and sincere physical exchange can only lead to a crippled, repressed and dehumanized sex life. Added to the multitude of repressions which are imposed from childhood, this produces human beings who are not fully developed, anxious or violent, apathic or dominate that is either the exploited or the exploitor in the system.

With the proliferation of eroticism and pornography, sexual repression has taken on a false image of liberation, but the repression is nonetheless strong though more vicious. It is one part of the whole repressive social system which prevents us from expressing our need of deep affection, love an affective physical exchange in an atmosphere of equality and autonomy. To maintain the existing social order, there must be be a hierarchy with superior and subordinate members who therefore cannot relate freely and equally as people, but only as unequal objects so that lack of equality and of warm relationships both at work and in social relationships, causes a lack of equalitarian relationships of authentic love btween sexes. These factors combine to perpetuate the existing system. Since in this hierarchy, some must give orders and others must obey, it is necessary that men feel superior to women, who in turn feel inferior to men, and each plays alternatively a game of domination and submission. Relation of exchange of equality and freedom, when possible in exceptional cases, exist in loving relationships. These relationships are in themselves the negation of the established order (and as such must be discouraged as "immoral" by the church and other institutions).

The family also must remain a closed unit to support the present system. If the family circle was to open so that men, women, children and parents could love freely outside the family, it would soon mean the end of borders, racism and nationalism, and of all segregation and wars.

Thus, pornographic films and erotic reviews, in providing a few illusory compensations for sexual and emotional repression, help to perpetuate the hierarchial social social structure.

Wilhelm REICH saw clearly that the nuclear family in which the members are inter-dependant and in which sexuality is exclusive and repressed is the basis of most neurosis, and the melting pot where our injust segregationist and authoritarian society is forged. To ensure its own survival, our society must prevent, at any price, an egalitarian dialogue, creative exchange between autonomous individuals and a free expression of the energy of life, both in relationships between the sexes and in other social and work relationships.

To perpetuate this hierarcial society, it is necessary to retain the closed, patriarchal family with its exclusive conjugal love, stereotyped with compulsory life-time fidelity. In brief, relationships of dependance and inequality must remain.

We all have in ourselves the need of freedom and equalitarianism, and the desire to love freely, to live fully and increase our relationships. These natural needs and desires subject the repressive society to strong internal pressure, thus running a continual risk of explosion. Pornography, prostitution etc., as well as tobacco,

alcohol and other drugs act as a safety valve thus saving the traditional family and avoiding the destruction of the established oreder.

It follows that to want both revolution and the maintainance of the traditional family is a contradiction. True liberation, leading to equality, freedom of relationships and autonomy is still a revolutionary act which shakes all existing social order and destroy all the barriers which divide human beings (i.e. barriers of sexes, age, race etc.)

One can see that liberation thus understood has nothing to do with immorality and pornography. On the contrary, it humanizes and diversifies relationships, opens and increase love and frees our creative energies in social and work relationships, a humanized love is an accomplished love, where neither partner constrains the other, no seduction is used, there is no ownership of each other, where pleasure is never taken egotistically, but always shared. Once this form of love has been experienced it is so liberating as to spread to all other relationships.

One of the biggest repressions that men and women are subjected to is the obligation put on by society to love affectively and sexually only one person for life, according to a pre-established model which prevents creative exchange, spontaneity, and makes individuals unsatisfied, apathic and aggressive.

It is a crime to make guilty people who cannot any longer contain their love to only one person, because they experience open, non-exclusive love, which opens their hearts to love all mankind.

As all of us feel an irrestible need to live freely and to love several human beings (and through them, all mankind) as we all need to co-operate, exchange and create in all spheres, including those of social and sexual relationships, but we are prevented from materialising these sane yearnings and made believe that they are immoral. Our energy of life instead of flowing, without tension, in the form of love, creativity and happiness, DEVIATES into the desire of money and possessions, egotistical love, authoritarianism, aggressiveness, hate or it produces internal conflict making us the prey of anxiety and depression to which we are subjected from childhood makes us inhibited, frustrated (mentally ill) people. It profits the purveyors of drugs and alcohol, as well as psychologists and sexologists who try to reintegate into society the neurotic people that this very society has produced.

We have been indoctrinated since childhood to fear our fellow creature, fear to be free, fear to live. To liberate oneself of those fundamental fears, reaching to love without shackle several people, to strip off our need of exclusive and possessive love, to live freely our life affective and sexual, is without doubt a very difficult path due to our preconception of our own conditioned life, but to try it, is to prepare already the egalitarian society, the social revolution, and the world of tomorrow without border where men and women would be no longer fear to love, to live all together in harmony and peace.

Jean-Claude PETIT

THE ANARCHISM OF AYN RAND

by Bob James

This essay is by no means intended to be exhaustive. It is a preliminary, an attempt to make a few points, and to raise a number of questions, hopefully for debate within this journal.

Most libertarians I know would be surprised to hear the author of *The Foutainhead, Atlas Shrugged,* etc. The editors of "Free Enterprise" regard anarchism as one extremity of the range of libertarianism, a kind of earth mother for which is Ayn Rand (F.R. No.3, P. 14,15).

Who then is more correct? To what extent is Rand anarchic, or better perhaps, to what extent do the two views, if they be different, parallel one another? Though I have read a number of her works, the present brief discussion will draw only upon John Galt's extended radio (etc?) speech in *Atlas Shrugged*, which speech I take to be representative of Rand's message, at least at the time it was written.

Firstly, however, an indication of what I take anarchism to be. Anarchism, I here define, "as a philosophy which believes that individuals can (and should) organise and control all aspects of their lives, including processes of production and distribution; that they, as anarchists, will follow methods which emphasise their enjoyment of life and that any agreements entered into, for the sake of combining resources etc, will be freely made and will remain non-institutionalised, i.e. they will not be given formal identity and/or momentum of their own. Anarchists believe that institutions external to the people, such as governments (as opposed to institutions such as buildings, places) are unnecessary and a source of evil. (See below).

Anarchism further believes "that fullest development of an individual's talents will only occur in such a free society and that such a society will either have none of the tensions and anxieties that have traditionally been the excuses for formal institutions administering, warring, legislating, judging etc, or that such conflict situations as do occur will be regarded as valuable sources of learning but of insufficient long-term importance to undermine the basic emphasis on co-operation, tolerance and spontaneity."

Implications of this definition for a practising community would include, 1) a high regard for rationality (to solve problems of organisation etc), 2) a high regard for the individual as responsible actor, 3) free access to all relevant information (to aid decision making), 4) participatory democracy (though not necessarily concensus production), 5) non-existence of all forms of institutionalised compulsion, 6) learning and living patterns which were non-competitive challenges being muted but not removed altogether), and 7) a regard for conserving methods of production over unnecessarily exploitive.

From Galt's speech in *Atlas Shrugged* it is apparent that Rand's philosophy involves a number of these "anarchic" themes.

For example, on page 948 (all references are to the Signet edition, 1963), "Happiness is possible only to a rational man, the man who desires nothing but rational

goals, seeks nothing but rational values and finds his joy in nothing but rational actions," and reason is said to be the sole cause of the material wealth of the USA (p. 985). Rand's thesis is that men of ideas (men of the mind) have been exploited and devalued by a world following a philosophy of sacrifice in which needs not talents are the measure of what one receives so that "incompetents" who do not earn what they receive and parasites feeding on the innovators, benefit more than the gifted people form technological progress.

Rand also makes the self of first importance in her new society – "No value is higher than self-esteeem" (p. 981). The individual must determine his own destiny and using his own mind will determine his own priorities. Since the capacity to choose is the basis of morality, a self motivated individual's life, if he reasons strictly and honestly, will have a moral purpose involving his acting in a life-affirming way. This parallels the notions of Reich, Marcuse, Fromm and most libertarians about the importance of life-affirmation.

There is almost no institutionalised authority in Rand's new society. "I know" will have precedence over "they say" (p. 967) and the sole function of the government will be to defend the community against initiators of violence. "Reason accepts no commandments," (p. 944) says Galt. His (Rand's) pacifism and freedom from institutions are qualified this way to allow "legitimate" (see below) defense of self and of property.

Now, keeping in mind the strictures of Proudhon (and other anarchists) on private property it would appear that Rand has here decisively parted company with anarchism. One however has to remember that even though anarchism desclaims the existence of God generally, there are certain groups calling themselves Christian and Catholic Anarchists. Perhaps it is anarchists of the socialist kind who need to rethink their positions and the logical necessity of all the defining characteristics they claim for their philosophy. The possibility at least exists, that anarchism and property are not antithetical and that God and anarchism are not opposed. (It would be very useful for many who claim to be libertarians to practise refuting the claim to property of Rand or the claim to God's existence of the Christian anarchists. Just by the way, a passage on page 966 of *Atlas Shrugged* on man's creation of religious institutions bears striking resemblance to that on page 51 of Emma Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays* (Dover edition, 1969).

Rand's intention is of course to support laissez-faire capitalism and there is much to be said for her arguement that in industrial societies many restraints on the free exercise of the market work to prop up the less than brilliant, the less than successful at the expense of those whose initiative, enthusiasm and brain power have been so beneficial to us all. This regard for the needs of the less capable and of the disadvantaged has evolved over a long period and to deny need as a criteria for social action as Rand does ("We do not consider need a claim" – p. 937) opens up her thesis to the charge that it lacks compassion and denies the lessons of history. While many authors (Orwell etc.) see the wish to provide for the needy by invoking egalitarianism as the prime cause of our loss of freedom to a monolithic State apparatus, it is anarchism's claim that it, as a philosophy, combines compassion with a recognition of individual talents by removing the need for cut-throat competition.

Anarchism today differentiates itself from authoritarian Socialism which it says has betrayed the people's revolution and now works to stultify the individuals, whereas anarchism, expressed in different self-help voluntary ways, works to encourage all

people, talented or only potentially talented in ways which will not encourage the production of inequalities in wealth. Rand's mouthpiece Galt refers on a number of occasions to rewards for the men of the mind and to the legitimacy of their fortunes. She clearly believes that unless men are paid (and paid lots) for their ideas and for their successful application of ideas they will not bother to exercise their skills. Since this is her belief she clearly needs to protect property rights, using the challenging argument that one's mind is one's property and one clearly (?) has the right to defend one's body. Rand also appears to support the use of money in much the same functions as it now has, since she seems to see money as the measure of the value of ideas, and ultimately of the men whose ideas they are.

Anarchism is not always certain about how its "market operations" would work or how to describe its exhange value concepts. It often depends on only a hope that men will continue to want to solve problems intelligently, for no reward other then personal satisfaction and/of the gratitude of their fellows. Certainly there is evidence to support the view that it is not the higher rewards that exclusively prevent engineers from working on assembly lines or keep doctors from collecting the garbage. (See for one discussion in "Why Should Society Reward Intelligence" by J. Gray, *Education News,* December, 1972). Further, most anarchists would I think claim that the "expectation-of-payment-producing-ideas attitude" is both a conditioned response in contemporary society and one of the causes of the devaluation of the minds that produce them. If there was not the emphasis on material rewards for innovations there would be fewer frauds and gimcrack fashions dressed up as new ideas, and there would be more opportunity to appraise and to reward beneficial suggestions than exists at present. Rand, of course, assumes that all ideas when appraised as beneficial, are **only** beneficial, and would all be suitably rewarded without any explanation of how the rewards are to be determined or from what source derived.

Rand (Galt) says, "Neither love nor fame nor cash is a value if obtained by fraud", (p. 945) and defines "honest means", as means which "do not deceive the minds of others." (p. 945) She clearly wishes to claim that the exploitive excesses of historical lassez-faire capitalism will not reoccur under her philosophy because of the "honest and strict" application of their reason. "Man has no automatic code of survival," says Rand (p. 939) and it is, according to her, only through the impartial application of reason to the activities of man that the good (i.e. life-affirming) can be distinguished from the evil (i.e. death-desiring). Much of Rand's critique is of the religious institutions and of educators who have devalued honesty, integrity, independence, productiveness and pride (p. 944), through deemphasising the self, through denying the existence of absolutes, through saying that all is relative and subjective, and through saying that actions are never right or wrong, but are always the result of man's environment, his training, his weaknesses etc. Rand often overstates her case, but again there is much here of interest to anarchists. Her critique of the institutions of learning is present in other author's works, and the so-called "new anarchists" (the post 2nd World War youth seemingly in revolt against custom etc.) are dismissed by people like Kristol (see *Psychology Today*, February 1974) because they are products of their time and environment. They are therefore accused of being confused about or berefit of values, concerned only to destroy, living at the mercy of whims. Again, there is much in this, but it is here that it becomes most apparent that people like Kristol and Rand are insufficiently discriminating in their judgements and lack perception in their observations.

The diffuse and the diverse is emphasised in the life-style of the youthful activists, and they seem quite often to be against every thing except themselves. This is one of the reasons they have been likened to anarchists. They represent a reaction to planning, manipulation and contemplate a return to a freer, less determined life. But it is not perceived by their critics that 1) the initial, often destructive, irrational activies are themselves learning experiences for the participants, and/or 2) that such people are reacting against the apparent loss by their parent's generations of values like honesty, integrity etc. and in attempting to return to a pre-consumerist age, are developing living patterns wherein human life is valued more and value judgements are possible. Just one reference here might suffice, to the Moora Moora Community Co-op, (Victoria) begun by a "group discontented with the mainstream of our society, working to create a co-operative community with a diversity of personalities and life-styles, but wherein the primary concerns are social and ecological." (From the group's own literature.)

It seems to me that the anarchists (old or new) are more likely to be right in claiming that such values as honesty etc. can survive and are likely to be enhanced in a co-operative, though disordered society. Rand appears to be setting at nought the research evidence which claims that it is competition itself which produces the fears, the tensions and ultimately the crimes, the brutalities and the devaluation of reason and ethical codes. She certainly sees the need for a new attitude but expecting it to grow via man's reason in a competitive society is very doubtful.

Rand does not realise that her preferred society shares with authoritarian societies, one of the defining characteristics of such societies – namely a belief in social order, particularly as a bi-product of efficient (predictive) planning. In making a virtue of extreme rationality and making no claims for co-operation or tempering circumstances she makes of laissez-faire competition a jungle wherein only the fittest survive, although all their methods may be "ethical", i.e. honestly rational. Rand may in fact intend this. She may prefer a society composed only of the strong and capable so that welfare, charity etc. is unnecessary. One may quibble about the semantic liklihood of such a possibility (if there are "winners", there must be "losers", ofthenwise no competition), but her view seems here to be fatally flawed, for she is either willing to accept the accidents of birth (the fortuitousness of sexual attraction producing strong and weak haphazardly) or she believes "honest and strict" rationality will involve laboratory engineering of all (completed) pregnancies.

My impression is that Rand sees things in black and white terms, strangely enough, not because of her rationality, but because of her patriotism. She refers to the USA as, "This country – this product of reason. . ." (p. 985). Also, "We will rebuild America's system in the moral premise which had been its foundation." (p. 985) and, "Now, you are letting this greatest of countries be devoured by any scum from any corner of the earth. . ." (p. 979). While perhaps agreeing with her critique of contemporary US society this kind of sweeping statement erodes her credibility. The sweeping "either" "or" stance is apparent when she claims that laws can be objectively interpreted, thus that justice can be ensured. (p. 987) She is obviously disregarding the range of nuances words (which comprise laws) have and part of her reason seems to be her need to make Galt an epic figure in line with her need for a rallying cause for "the new America". Galt (Rand) has a weakness for the grand, blanket statement. For example, when referring to her (his) conception of objective justice, Galt (Rand) says, "Only a brute, a fool or an evader can agree to. . . accept

the belief that others have the right to dispose of his person at their whim. . . We (men of the mind) do not live or work with any form of the non-objective." (p. 987).

Conclusion

Rand's apparent need for simplistic explanations (to popularise her beliefs?) leaves her open to charges of 1) elitism (which she may not wish to deny) –

e.g. Galt (Rand) describes himself as a hero, and makes such statements as, "If you (his audience, the "others") ever desire again to live in an industrial society it will be on our moral terms." (p. 950) or, "We (men of the mind) taught you to know, to speak, to produce, to desire, to love." (p. 963);

2) scientific error–

e.g. (in addition to the above) "organs of perception. . .have no power to invent or to distort." (p. 966).

"only a ghost can exist without material property." (p. 986).

"only when man discovered that nature was a firm, predictable absolute were they able to rely on their knowledge. . ." (p. 987).

"it's only the degree to which (man) thinks that determines the degree to which he rises (in his job)." (p. 988).

A third possible charge is that already discussed, that what is being fostered is a cold, austere dictatorship of the intellect. Her clear distinction between "men of minds", and "the others", and in the absence of any statements recognising influences other than a person's own capacities being responsible for his economic position, laad lead one to suspect that Rand would allow "the others" to perish. As Galt appears to be doing in *Atlas Shrugged.*

But, in fact, she (and Galt) are ambivalent on this. It appears that her own rationality uncovers the fundamental flaw. Seeming to want to damn all "non-mind" people, she is aware of the denial of much of philosophic and social history this entails so she reluctantly allows that perhaps the mass of the people are not entirely responsible for their situation or for their actions (p. 942). She (Galt) is thus forced into offering a second (?) chance to her (his) audience. (p. 953). This is hardly an action based solely on reason. Or is it?

Perhaps Rand is aware that neither "incompetents" nor "men of the mind" are self-produced and are therefore not entitled to any praise, rewards or blame allocated strictly on the basis of what is earnt. Thus, while questions of inheritance may only be a practical difficulty for her philosophy, the fact that a person's skills and capacities are unearned by him/her appears to destroy it completely.

HAPOTOC FAMILY INTERNATIONAL NEEDS YOUR HELP

Help a Prisoner and Outlaw Torture Organizing Committee (HAPOTOC(needs you and your assistance to help expose the state's behaviour in jails, prisons and concentration camps around the world, and at the same time work for the ending of social conditions which give rise to crime, violence, prisons, police forces, armies and dictatorships of all kinds.

Please write us:

1: ICAT (International Crusade Against Torture(, P.O. Box 22523, Fazantenhof, Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam, Holland. Deals specifically with cases of Torture, Behaviour Modification, and the humans under sentence of death...this struggle wing needs to be built up so that it can become an emergency wing capable of acting very rapidly.

2: ICAP (International Crusade Against Prisons), P.O. Box 27 087, 1002-AB, Amsterdam, Holland. Deals with prison conditions, life imprisonment cases, prison slave labor...with an underlying strategy of ending the prison system altogether.

3: HAPOTOC REBEL (newsletter of the HAPOTOC Family International), P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, Holland. Carries news world wide on the struggle against Torture, the Death Penalty and Prisons; it carries many interesting articles, lists of prisoners to write, and things one can do to help - it is FREE to all. (Donations/stamps are appreciated for printing postage and support work.)

HAPOTOC needs human beings knowing and supporting human beings...

FREEDOM!
— HAPOTOC Family International—